CHAPTER - V

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Subhas Chandra Bose was a young man of 24 years of age when he landed in Bombay on 16 July 1921 after twenty months’ stay abroad. Although under the aegis of Mahatma Gandhi sacrifice had became the order of the day but Subhas’s sacrifice was considered higher because before him though people and leaders have renounced their jobs, titles, etc. in the wake of non-co-operation movement yet nobody had dared to discard such a prized and prestigious job. In a way, it was a challenge to the British authority which was always keen to keep the doors of Indian Civil Service closed for Indians, now felt that there were some Indians who could give up such coveted jobs for the love of their motherland. This courageous act had created ripples both in the bureaucratic circles and amongst the lovers of the country. He was began to be hailed as a hero, a leader. Though he had rebelled from the very childhood but in a restricted sphere. Now, his this rebellious kind of act raised him on the national platform. The small leader of the Presidency College, now attained adulthood and began to emerge as a leader of his own sort on the national scene. Neither terrorism could attract him nor Indian Civil Service, even though both the temptations had come in his life at different periods of time. The first had come when he was frustrated and wandering, having run away from home. The second came when he was in the full flood of
his University career. Many a youth similarly situated would have swept off their feet but Subhas had firm determination and was surer of his goal, that is, to serve the motherland and achieve its freedom but in his own way.

When Subhas returned to India, it was firmly established that he would join the Indian freedom movement. He had well-formed political opinions even before joining active politics. At Cambridge he studied Modern European History including some original source books like Bismarck’s *Autobiography*, Metternich’s *Memoirs* and Cavour’s *letters*, etc. “These original sources”, Bose recalls: “more than anything else I studied at Cambridge, helped to rouse my political sense and to foster my understanding of the inner currents of international politics.” He had a different view of achieving India’s freedom. Subhas Chandra Bose had already made up his mind that revolution was needed to fight imperialism and for this the Indian people had to be organised. Not surprisingly, due to his radical views Gandhian ideology could not exert any lasting influence on Bose. It was an interesting coincidence that he travelled in the same ship with Rabindranath Tagore and this short contact helped him to confirm his views on the political problems of India. In his own words: “I had occasion to discuss with him the new policy of non-co-operation adopted by the Congress. He was by no means hostile to the idea. He was only anxious that there should be more of constructive activity. . . . What he suggested was analogous to the constructive side of the Irish Sinn Fien movement and was completely in accord with my views.”
Almost immediately after landing in Bombay, Subhas Chandra Bose went straight to Mani Bhavan at Laburnum Road in Bombay to meet Mahatma Gandhi. It was only to be expected, therefore, that Bose would take the earliest opportunity to meet Gandhi and seek his advice because Gandhi was the god-father of Indian politics at that time. His influence had increased tremendously since the special session of the Congress held from 4 September to 8 September 1920 where the Congress resolved that: “This Congress is of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation.” Gandhi with his unique methods of Satyagraha and non-co-operation had emerged as one of the most prominent leaders of the Congress. His methods evoked unprecedented response from every nook and corner of the country. However, like many of his compatriots Bose was unsure about the rationale of Gandhi’s philosophy and the practicality of his non-co-operation movement.

Subhas wanted to be clear in his mind about the goals and ideals of the movement he proposed to join. There were mainly three issues lurking in his mind. Firstly, how were the different activities conducted by the Congress going to culminate in the last stage of the campaign, namely, the non-payment of taxes? Secondly, how could mere non-payment of taxes or civil disobedience force the government to retire from the field and leave us with our freedom? Thirdly, how could the Mahatma promise ‘Swaraj’ (that is, Home Rule) within one
year - as he had been doing ever since the Nagpur Congress? Gandhi patiently explained to this youngman the background of his movement. Subhas was satisfied with Gandhi’s answer to the first question but the replies to the other two questions left him dissatisfied. Subhas’s initial confrontation with Gandhi thus revealed the gulf between their thinking and approach towards political issues.

Though Subhas and Gandhi were in agreement on the ultimate objective of India’s freedom they differed fundamentally on the method of achieving the objective. In the words of S.A.Ayer: "Agreement on the ultimate objective of India’s freedom from foreign rule, but fundamental differences on the method of achieving the objective largely characterised the political relations between these two leaders from the day Subhas first met the Mahatma in Bombay in July 1921 till they met for the last time at Wardha in June 1940. With the Mahatma, non-violence was a living creed; with Subhas, it was an article of faith that the use of force was necessary to dislodge the alien ruler from Indian soil."  

Subhas’s first meeting with Gandhi did not help Subhas to arrive at any clear-cut decision regarding his role in serving India. Bose was not only disappointed but he was depressed after meting Gandhi and wrote later: “Though I tried to persuade myself at the time that there must have been a lack of understanding on my part, my reason told me clearly, again and again, that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan that the Mahatma had formulated and that he
himself did not have a clear idea of the successive stages of the campaign which would bring India to her cherished goal of freedom." This clearly shows Bose's mental make-up. He did not surrender himself to Gandhi's magic as many others had done at their first meeting. As Subhas himself was a strong-willed person so Gandhi's charisma had no effect on him. He stood aloof without being either impressed by his mass-following or the known fact of his leadership of the Indian National Congress. V.P Saini opines that: "Gandhi and Bose were just like the sky and earth which give the illusion of meeting at a very distant horizon but in fact never meet anywhere. Perhaps it was on account of the fundamental differences in the approaches of these two political stalwarts of Indian Independence struggle that they could never meet at any point on the horizon of Indian politics." 

Instead of following Gandhi blindly rather he chose to meet C.R. Das. NO doubt, Gandhi, too, had advised Subhas to meet C.R. Das. C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru were perhaps the only two Indian leaders then, who could claim to be anywhere near the level of Gandhi. C.R. Das was the acknowledged leader of Bengal and he occupied a leading place in the national leadership that was emerging in India. Leonard writes: "More than his views and talents it was Das's renunciation of his substantial legal practice, and of his elegant and sensual lifestyle, in favour of a more severe Gandhian style which seemed to have an impact on wavering potential nationalists. Even Subhas Bose in Cambridge was moved by Das' sacrifice, which helped
influence him to give up the ICS for the cause of Indian nationalism."^8 While at Cambridge, Bose had already started correspondence with the Bengal leader and, indeed, had promised to serve him in any capacity he desired. Besides, in a letter to C.R. Das dated 16 February 1921 he expressed his desire thus: “You are the apostle of our national service programme in Bengal - I have, therefore, come to you today - with whatever little education, intelligence, strength and enthusiasm that I may possess .... My purpose in writing to you is only to ask you what work you may be able to give me in this gigantic programme of national service.”^9 Analyzing the working of the Indian National Congress, he stated further that “Today the Congress has no definite policy with regard to many national problems. That is why I think the Congress must have permanent quarters and a permanent staff of research students.”^10 This shows how keenly he was observing the functioning of the Indian National Congress; the premiere political organization.

In another letter to C.R. Das dated 2 March 1921, Subhas expressed his ideas thus: “certain ideas are coming to my mind - I am communicating them to you:

1) I may take up teaching at the National College. I have read a little of Western Philosophy.

2) If you publish a daily newspaper in English, I may work as one of the sub-editorial staff.

3) If you open a research department for the Congress, I may also work there.”^11
This shows that even before meeting C.R. Das, Subhas was surer of his path. Sisir K. Bose while commenting on the two letters to Deshbandhu writes: "The two letters mark the first major decision in Netaji’s life, and, what is historically more stimulating, they reveal for the first time the political scientist, planner and strategist that was about to enter the Indian political scene."^{12}

On reaching Calcutta, Subhas took the earliest opportunity to meet C.R. Das. This meeting proved to be extremely auspicious. After exhaustive and continuous conversation with him about the object of the Congress movements, Bose writes: "During the course of our conversation I began to feel that here was a man who knew what he was about—who could give all that he had, and who could demand from others all they could give—a man to whom youthfulness was not a shortcoming but a virtue. By the time our conversation came to an end my mind was made up. I felt I had found a leader and meant to follow him."^{13}

Subhas was lucky to have found in C.R. Das a leader of his liking. C.R. Das, on the other hand, recognized the fragrance of a promising youth who had all the qualities of a leader. Subhas had already combined in himself the spiritual power of India and the revolutionary spirit of the Western World. It was probably C.R. Das’s magnetic pull and respect for the views of others which attracted Subhas towards him rather than towards M.K. Gandhi. This becomes sufficiently evident from his letter dated 12 August 1925 to Sarat
Chandra Chattopadhyay from Mandalay Jail. He praised C.R. Das in the following words: “Another thing that you have said has had a great appeal for me - ‘our service to the country was more in the nature of service to the Deshabandhu.’ As a matter of fact, I know of many who had no faith in his views, nor in his programme, but attracted by the magnetic influence of his great heart could by no means help carrying out his wishes, and he, too, in his turn loved every body irrespective of his personal opinion or views.” But Subhas’s position was different. He did not follow C.R. Das blindly rather their relations were on mutual grounds. C.R. Das acknowledges the inherent spirit and patriotism of Bose and Das welcomed this young lieutenant with open arms and entrusted him with a number of responsible jobs.

At that time the non-co-operation movement was in motion. On 1 August 1921 the first death anniversary of Tilak was observed throughout the country with huge bonfires of foreign cloth. During such a period of frenzied political activity C.R. Das made Subhas the Principal of the National College which had been started by him in Calcutta and Dacca (in Bengal). During Subhas’s Cambridge years, he had expressed his desire to work in National College in the letters to C. R. Das. Moreover, a network of schools and colleges was also necessary to educate children, who had left the government schools and colleges in response to the call given by the Congress. C. R. Das was immensely satisfied with the ability and sincerity of Subhas and placed him in-charge of the Publicity Board of Bengal Provincial
Congress Committee and later on he became its General Secretary in 1923. Subhas also worked in nationalist newspaper Swaraj and he was also made the head of the National Volunteer Corps. Subhas discharged his duties with such efficiency that he won the applause of his opponents as well as of his friends. "The Anglo-Indian daily - The Statesman ruefully remarked that while the Congress had gained such a capable man, the government had correspondingly lost a civil servant of high promise."\textsuperscript{15} He organised propaganda activities for the Congress in a simple and effective manner which too won him a lot of praise.

In September 1921, many Congress leaders like Deshabandhu, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and Maulana Mohammed Ali etc. came to Calcutta to persuade ex-revolutionaries to work jointly in non-co-operation movement. They did not approve of the doctrine of non-retaliation which they apprehended would demoralise the people and weaken their power of resistance. Subhas was entrusted with the duty of arranging the meeting between Gandhi and the revolutionaries. Subhas confirms: "This was the first occasion when I had an opportunity of coming into personal contact with the prominent leaders of the Congress."\textsuperscript{16} In a nutshell, Bose discharged all his duties very ably and creditably at a very critical juncture when India was burning with patriotism.

The non-co-operation movement was at its height and it become the most effective non-violent weapon to protest against the
proposed visit of the prince of Wales to India. The country was still recovering from the breaking of the war-time pledges by the government, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the promulgation of the Rowlatt Act. The Congress Working Committee decided to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales and a call for a strike (hartal) on 17 November 1921, was given. On this day the Prince was scheduled to land in Bombay. It was decided to wave black flags and observe complete hartal at the time of his visit. The hartal was a thorough success especially in Calcutta the whole administration was paralysed.\textsuperscript{17} Regarding its success the Anglo Indian Papers, The Statesman and Englishman, wrote the next day that: "Congress volunteers had taken possession of the city and the Government had abdicated and they demanded immediate and drastic action against the Congress volunteers."\textsuperscript{18} The Congress organization was declared illegal by the Government of Bengal. This was followed by similar notifications in other parts of the country.

The Bengal Congress Committee could not take such a summary ban lying down and it decided to start civil disobedience as a protest. C.R. Das, the President of the Provincial Congress Committee was vested with all powers and was also authorised to nominate his successor. This Committee was a body of about 300 members representing the Congress Organisations of Bengal. By that time Subhas Chandra Bose had became a member of that body and was able to participate in its deliberations. Subhas was made incharge of the campaign. During the brief period in which they worked
together, Subhas learnt a lot and proved to be a true disciple of his guru.

Thousands of people came forward to join as volunteers for courting arrest. There was no room for them in the jails and orders were issued for summary release, but no one was prepared to leave the prison. When Subhas was heading the civil disobedience campaign, he was arrested along with C.R. Das and his other associates on 10 December 1921. Subhas was sentenced to six months’ simple imprisonment. “Only six months”, he said to the magistrate: “have I then stolen a chicken?” This was the first of the eleven jail terms undergone by Bose during the next nineteen years. This shows that Subhas was ready for imprisonment even just after joining the freedom movement.

In the prison, Bose lived in close proximity with C.R. Das and served him as secretary, cook and valet. In a letter from Mandalay Jail dated 20 February 1926 to Hemendra Nath Dasgupta, Bose gave vent to his feelings regarding C.R. Das: “During the eight months I spent with him in jail I came to know him really well. There is a saying in English, “familiarity breeds contempt”, but of the Deshabandhu, at least, I can safely say that having known him most intimately my love and admiration for him increased hundered fold.” Subhas remained Das’s right hand man in all his multifarious activities and imbibed from him valuable lessons which were to serve him well in his public
life. His long discussions with Das on several subjects helped in his political growth.

Despite Subhas's loyalty to the leader, he retained his independence of outlook and judgement. Subhas himself wrote about C.R. Das: "Both his virtues and failings were peculiar to the race he belonged to. The greatest pride in his life was that he was a Bengalee. That was why he was so much loved and adored by the Bengalees."21 He further stated: "Another frequent statement of Das was that if any Indian movement has to be worked in Bengal it must have the stamp of Bengal on it. If satyagraha has to be launched in Bengal it must first be made suitable for the province."22 For himself Subhas declared: "Why do you call me a Bengal leader? I am not provincial."23 Like a soldier he marched along with the mass movement of Gandhi but his political soul could not be satisfied with the non-violent technique. Though his ideas bear the stamp of his illustrious chief, that is, C.R. Dass but only to some extent.

Das's ideas are evident from the Presidential address delivered at Ahmedabad at the 36 session of Indian National Congress on 27-28 December 1921 in Das's absence as he was in jail. Das believed that non-violence was the panacea for political ills of India. Also, it was an invaluable weapon for other countries. He analysed the sufferings of the world. They were not due to economic reasons but to its faith in violence. What then is non-co-operation? Das quotes the words of Mr. Stakes: "It is the refusal to a party to preventable evil; it is the refusal
to accept or have any part in injustice; it is the refusal to acquiesce in wrongs that can be righted, or to submit to a state of affairs which is manifestly inconsistent with the dictates of righteousness. And as a consequence, it is the refusal to work with those who, on grounds of interest or expediency, insist upon committing or perpetuating wrong.” Das further clarifies his point: “There is only determination not to cooperate with the bureaucracy.” He also expressed his abhorrence with the revolutions in Germany and Russia. On the other hand, Subhas stressed the need for India’s contacts with the rest of the world. He elaborated this doctrine to cover all countries including Germany and Russia. Unlike his chief he did not show any abhorrence for revolutions in Germany or Russia. Subhas rather praised the achievements of German and Russian Revolutions. Das was the first Indian leader to suggest formation of Congress branches in other countries of the world.

On being released from jail, Subhas busied himself with the relief work. His superb ability as a social worker was demonstrated when he was deputed by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to organise relief work in the districts of Bogra, Rajashahi, Patna, Dinajpur and Rangpur inundated by floods of unprecedented magnitude in 1922. Bose organised a band of volunteers and went with them to the affected areas to distribute food, agricultural implements and house-repairing material. Bose and his devoted volunteers worked day and night to put the destitutes on their feet. The relief organisation was a unique success and earned for the Congress and
Bose personally the thanks of Lord Lyttan, Governor of Bengal. Bose already had a disposition towards poor which he had acquired from his father.

After the tragic events of Chauri-Chaura, Mahatma Gandhi suspended the non-co-operation movement in February 1922 and the movement for non-payment of taxes, as a result of which the movement almost grinded to a halt. Subhas, who was considerably young, felt greatly disturbed and expressed his anguish in the following words: "The Dictator's decree was obeyed at that time but there was a regular revolt in the Congress camp. No one could understand why the Mahatma should have used the isolated incident at Chauri-Chaura for strangling the movement all-over the country. To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point, was, nothing short of a national calamity." Brown opines: "Congress split on the tactical questions posed by the collapse of non-co-operation .... In the debris of non-co-operation 'No-Changers' who adhered to Gandhi's tactics faced 'Pro-changers' who wished to steer Congress once more into constitutional paths. The latter won the day, forming Swaraj parties which became the main instruments of Congressmen's political activities. Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das tried to create an all-India party with a single policy and effective organization." R. Palme Dutt is of opinion that: "The Swaraj Party was the party of the progressive bourgeoisie moving to co-operation with imperialism along the inclined plane of parliamentarism."
Bose naturally threw in his lot with Das and accompanied him on a tour of the country to popularise the new party. A journal in Bengali - Banglar Katha and an English daily - Forward were also started to conduct propaganda for the new party. Bose was appointed editor of the former and manager of the latter. He was made the Secretary of the Swaraj Party. Jailed again, but when he was released, he began to function as the Chief Executive Officer of the newly formed Calcutta Corporation on 24 April 1923, of which C.R. Das became the first Mayor. Subhas formed the All Bengal Youth League with himself as its President. The League served as a model for similar youth organisations all over the country. Towards the end of 1923, Subhas also became the General-Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Subhas carried out several municipal reforms during this period and he earned a very good reputation of being an able administrator and the changes he brought about in the administration of the affairs of the city of Calcutta were applauded by everyone.

Within such a short span of time Bose emerged as a youth leader. Das reposed so much confidence in him that he assigned him with important portfolios one after the other. He, too, on his part served Das in the best of his ability but retaining his own personal outlook and judgement. His political apprenticeship under C.R.Das stood him in great stead later on. Bose was just 27 years old at that time and had little administrative experience to his credit, but as a
Chief Executive Officer he proved his mettle and soon made a name as an able administrator. He donated half of his monthly salary of Rs. 3,000 for charitable purposes.

The entire system of administration was changed. The bureaucratic administration had yielded to a popular one. All came dressed in Khadi. Education Department for the first time started to provide free Primary education to the citizens. Besides, free medical dispensaries, a milk-kitchen for supplying free milk to the poor children was established. Subhas's installation as Chief Executive Officer of Calcutta Municipal Corporation had virtually led him to eschew all political activities. The British Government came down heavily on the national workers and on 25 October 1924 Bose was arrested under Regulation III of 1818.

The sudden arrest of Bose brought the entire work of the Corporation to a halt and the authorities had no other choice but to allow him to carry on the Municipal work within the prison walls till some substitute arrangement was made. For two months his secretary was allowed to take the office files to him, from time to time, to dispose off the pending cases with the escort of a police officer. The arrest stirred the country's indignation. "This honour was given to him by the British government because it considered him 'one of the most dangerous men' in the country."29 Every body, including Gandhi was convinced that the Swaraj Party's success had led the government to take such repressive measures.
Barely after three months of his detention in Alipore and Brahmpore jails then on 25 January 1925, sudden orders were issued for his deportation to Mandalay. In the cover of darkness, the next evening under the special escort of Mr. Lawman, Assistant Inspector General of Police, and a contingent of armed police, Subhas was taken out in a prison van. He was taken in a ship from Calcutta to Rangoon, his cabin heavily guarded by police. The ship reached Rangoon after four days and from there Mandalay was about a day's rail journey. Nobody knew for how many days he was to be detained behind bars. Bose, however, soon adjusted himself to the life in the jail and spent most of his time in the study of criminal psychology and prison reforms. He also spent long hours in introspection. His letters to his friend, Dilip Kumar Roy reflects his feelings in those days. “The enforced solitude in which a detenue (sic) passes his days,” he wrote to Roy on 2 May 1925, “gives him an opportunity to think deep into the ultimate problems of life. In any event, I can claim this for myself, that many of the most tangled questions, which whirl like eddies in our individual and collective life, are edging gradually to the estuary of a solution. The things I could only puzzle out feebly, or the views I could offer tentatively in those days gone by are crystalising out more and more presentably from day to day. It is for this reason, if for no other, that I feel that I would be spiritually a gainer through my imprisonment.” 30 His imprisonment did help him in brooding over certain ideas but as he was a loner he spent most of his time in reading.
It was in Mandalay that Bose received the greatest shock of his life when the news of Deshbandhu Das's death on 16 June 1925, reached him. Uptil now Subhas had been following C.R.Das in political activities. He was his friend, philosopher and guide in the context that Bose was baptised into political life by him. Under him Bose worked in many capacities and to Das, Bose was his most able man who could easily discharge many duties at one time. So his death besides being a great national loss, was a personal bereavement to Subhas. He wrote to Dilip Kumar Roy: “I am desolate with a sense of bereavement. For I feel so vividly near to the great departed in the world of memory that it is impossible for me just now to write.”

Bose passed his time at Mandalay peacefully but the rebel in him immediately raised his head when in October 1925, funds were denied to the Hindu detainees to celebrate their Durga Puja although Christian prisoners were given money to celebrate Christmas. Bose went on a hunger strike in February 1926 which continued for a fortnight and ended only after winning. In the latter half of 1926, Subhas was offered a Calcutta Constituency for the Bengal Legislative Council against Mr. J.N.Basu. Though Subhas got a thumping majority yet his incarceration continued.

As a result of the unfavourable climatic conditions and of the hunger strike earlier in the year, Subhas's health deteriorated. In the winter of 1926 he had an attack of bronchopneumonia. Subhas was transferred to Rangoon for medical examination. The medical board
composed of Lieutenant Colonel Kelsall and Dr. Sunil Chandra Bose. They recommended that he should no longer be detained in prison. Instead of releasing him on the basis of the medical report, the government made a conditional offer in the Bengal Legislative Council that Bose will be released from detention provided he agreed to go straight away to Switzerland from Burma without touching Indian soil for recouping his health at his own expense. But Bose was adamant. He could not be persuaded. He wrote to his brother Sarat Chandra: “I have on this occasion tried to anticipate the worst that may befall me if I do not accept the offer of government, but I have not been able to persuade myself that a permanent exile from the land of my birth would be better than life in a jail leading to the sepulchre. I do not quail before this cheerful prospect, for I believe as the poet does, that ‘the paths of glory lead but to the grave.”32

Subhas was confident that men may be confined behind the bars or may be suppressed for the time being but ideas will work out their own destiny. In a letter to his brother from Insein Gaol on 8 May 1927 he wrote: “Ideas will work out their own destiny and we, who are but clods of clay encasing sparks of the divine fire, have only to consecrate ourselves to these ideas. A life so consecrated is bound to fulfil itself, regardless of the vicissitudes of our material and bodily existence. My faith in the ultimate triumph of the idea for which I stand is unflinching, and I am therefore not troubled by thoughts about my health and future prospects ... I am not a shopkeeper and I do not bargain ... ‘We wrestle not against flesh and blood but against
principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.... Our cause is the cause of freedom and truth: as sure as day follows night, that cause will ultimately prevail.”

Subhas’s health was fast deteriorating. Bowing to great public pressure orders were issued for his transfer to Almora jail. Before his boat reached Calcutta he was removed to the Governor’s launch for another medical examination. “The board composed of Sir Nilratan Sirkar, Dr. B.C. Roy, Lieut.-Col. Sands and Major Hingston, the Governor’s physician examined me,” wrote Subhas, “and sent their report by wire to the Governor at Darjeeling.” The police officers tried their best to convince the medical board submit a report in favour of his transfer to Almora or departure to Switzerland. But the doctors urged the immediate release of Subhas in view of his health. He was released on 16 May 1927 unconditionally. Gandhi was not satisfied with Subhas’s release on health grounds and wrote in Young India dated 26 May 1927 under the little Highly unsatisfactory: “The public will condone the detention of the other prisoners for the release of Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, forgetting that the release is not to any relenting on the part of the government but due to Nature’s intervention,” and further praising Subhas: “The one consolation that the public can derive from this painful affair is, that Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose up to the very last moment manfully declined to accept the humiliating conditions from time to time proposed by the government for his discharge.” And on another occasion writing in
Young India dated 29 December 1927 under the title Political Prisoners: “In spite of the agitation that was set on foot he would in all probability not have been discharged if his precarious health had not came to rescue.”

V.P. Saini writes: “The period of Mandalay was very damaging to Bose not because he had lost health but because he had lost his political mentor and the guiding spirit Deshbandhu who had expired during his imprisonment in Mandalay.” The stock of Swaraj Party had fallen and some of its stalwarts like M.R. Jayakar and N.C.Kelkar had formed a rival Responsivist Party. Hindu-Muslim riots were taking place all over the country. Gandhi was in virtual retirement. Pandit Motilal Nehru had left for Europe, partly owing to professional reasons and partly because of the serious illness of his daughter-in-law. So despite his unsatisfactory health conditions, Subhas had to take up the helm soon after his release.

Subhas was elected President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Gradually, Bose overcame the shock he had received at C.R.Das’s death and started his political activities once again, this time with renewed enthusiasm. He appeared as a leader without the shadow of his illustrious chief, that is, C.R.Das.

As a result of the coming of Simon Commission to India during the course of the boycott agitation in 1927 and Lala Lajpat Rai’s death later in Lahore, public anger against the government reached fever-pitch and Bose thought it provided an excellent opportunity to
launch an all out movement to oust the Britishers from India. Subhas visited Gandhi in May 1928 at his Ashram at Sabarmati and begged him to come out of his retirement and give a lead to the country. Gandhi refused.

At the Madras session of the Indian National Congress in 1927, Subhas was appointed General Secretary of the Congress along with Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, thus making his debut on the all India stage. The Bengal delegates now attended the session under the leadership of Subhas Bose. Bose had left leanings and by now Nehru, too, had turned left which led to the emergence of a strong left wing within the Indian National Congress. Now, militant and radical wing activated in the Congress. “The Madras Congress is memorable for two reasons. A resolution was of course passed bycotting the Simon Commission ‘at every stage and every form.’ But along with that another resolution was passed directing the Executive to convene an All-India All-parties Conference with a view to drawing up a constitution for India acceptable to all parties. A somewhat contradictory resolution was also passed declaring the goal of the Indian people to be ‘complete independence’.”

The year 1928 was quite significant. In 1928, Subhas became the General Officer Commanding of the volunteer Corps. He evinced keen interest in the issues and problems of the workers. As a result of the Russian revolution and the post world war I economic scenario, the workers had became increasingly conscious of their rights and
privileges and their important role in the new world. The year was marked by strikes which swept the country, the textile mills of Bombay, the Jute mills of Calcutta and the Tata Iron and Steel works in Jamshedpur-all being affected by it. The strike in the steel works was nearing collapse when Bose was prevailed upon to take up its cause. He stood for socialist ideology and championed the interests and aspirations of working classes. The workers reposed much confidence in him. He soon succeeded in bringing about an honourable settlement of the strike. In 1928 itself, Subhas was elected President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, a post he occupied until 1931. This election marked a turning point in his career because it meant that Bose had finally emerged from the shadow of C.R.Das's personality and had very slowly but surely found his feet in the political arena. He became aware of his leadership quality. By becoming President of the Trade Union Movement, Subhas was able to draw the so far untapped strength of working classes in India for the freedom movement.

As the All India Trade Union Congress Chief, it was the responsibility of Subhas to hold together divergent elements inside the working classes. There were the Rightists, Communists and followers of M.N.Roy. The result of those conflicts was clear. Inspite of the best efforts of Subhas, the organisational strength of the Trade Union Congress deteriorated. But, indeed, it gave Bose the feel of his socialist ideas which were in its infancy at this stage and thus his work as All India Trade Union Congress Chief gave him the chance to know the
problems of workers and peasants in a practical way which later helped him to evolve his own socialist ideas which were somewhat different from the socialist ideology than current in the communist world. Bose saw socialism as being not only necessary in Indian conditions, but inevitable.

The All-Parties Conference met at Delhi in February and March 1928 and again reassembled at Bombay in May. The Conference appointed a small committee with Pandit Motilal Nehru as Chairman, to determine the principles of the new Constitution for India and draft a report thereon. The Committee met frequently at Allahabad and ultimately issued its report in August which was unanimous: "Pandit Motilal Nehru and his colleagues deserve the highest congratulations for the very able and practically unanimous report they have been able to bring out on the question that has vexed all parties for the past long months.... It is signed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sjt. M.S. Aney, Sardar Mangal Singh, N. Shuaib Qureshi, Sjt. G.R. Pradhar and Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose." The Nehru Committee adopted Dominion status as the basis of the Constitution.

The difference of approach between Bose and Gandhi came to the surface in 1928 when the Calcutta session of the Congress was held in December, 1928. Though Subhas was a signatory to the Nehru Report yet he moved an amendment that Congress wanted Purna Swaraj (complete independence) and Jawaharlal Nehru seconded this
amendment. It was against the resolution moved by Gandhi of Dominion status. Gandhi's resolution further stated: “that the Congress shall not be bound by the Constitution if it is not accepted on or before 31 December, 1929 and provided further that in the event of non-acceptance by the British Parliament of the Constitution by that date the Congress will revive non-violent Non-Co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every aid to government.” While moving the amendment, Subhas stated: “the fact that I rise today to move the amendment is a clear indication of a cleavage, the fundamental cleavage between the elder school and the new school of thought in the Congress.”

The amendment, however, could not be carried out and was defeated by 1350 votes to 973, as the followers of Gandhi made it an issue of confidence in the leader. They felt that Mahatma would retire from the Congress if the amendment was passed. Hence majority of the delegates voted for Gandhi’s resolution not because they believed in it but solely because they did not want to be a party to any embarrassment to Mahatma or his ousting from the Congress. The magnitude and scope of Subhas’s political ideas and programmes became abundantly clear. Besides this, this experience gave him the feeling that within the Indian National Congress; besides him there are quite many who held a point of view different from that of Gandhi. Subhas was critical of Gandhi because of the latters' opposition to industrialisation and piece-meal policy of struggle. At this Congress, Subhas functioned as the General Officer Commanding
Bengal Volunteers Corps which he had raised and trained on military lines, complete with a distinct uniform. It may be pointed out that this was a rehearsal for the INA days fifteen years later.

In any case these political developments coupled with activism of the workers revealed that the nature and character of the Congress was further undergoing a significant change, a change towards the left ideology. It is important to note that since fifty thousand workers marched into the venue of the Congress session held in 1928. It clearly marked that the working class had risen as an organized political force and that they had begun to enter the platform of the bourgeois politics led by Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and others. E.M.S. Namboodiripad opines: “The bourgeois national leadership of the Congress on the one hand; and the imperialist reformist leadership of the British labour party, on the other, had tried to capture the leadership of this movement. Against this, the workers peasants parties had emerged under the leadership of the Communists as a broad mass revolutionary front to organize the working class on a revolutionary basis and to establish unity with the left-wing of the bourgeois nationalist movement.”44 The situation became different. Now there were not only the masses who had imbibed the spirit of mass struggles, but also organized movements born out of their struggles as well as the revolutionary ideologies leading them. The impact of all these: Trade Unions and their strike struggles, the Youth organisations and their form of struggle, the agitations and struggles of the peasantry and the revolutionary organizations imbuing the
Communist and Socialist ideologies, was found on the ranks and active workers of the Congress as well as on a section of its leadership. Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and other leaders of the younger generation emerged as the representatives of these sections.

As a result of the conflict on the issue of Dominion status and complete Independence, Bose and J.L. Nehru offered jointly to resign their General Secretarysthips of the Congress. The idea of Dominion Status as India's goal was totally unpalatable to him. A private meeting of members of the Congress Left Wing was, therefore, held at Lucknow to decide the future course of action. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose suggested that instead of dividing the House and thereby wrecking the All parties Conference, they should voice their protest at the Conference and then proceed to organise an Independence League in order to carry on an active propaganda in the country in favour of independence. This suggestion was accepted by the meeting of Left Wingers and they started organising branches of the Independence League all over the country and in November, at a meeting held at Delhi, the Independence League was formally inaugurated. “The Independence for India League, was started to bring pressure on the National Congress to adopt Independence as its objective.”

Youth Leagues were formed in a number of provinces and their leadership devolved on Subhas Bose and Nehru. Subhas presided over more than one Youth Conference and his addresses preached the
doctrines of activism, in place of the passivism of Gandhi. Typical of his attack on the Gandhian philosophy was the speech delivered as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Youth Congress Calcutta on 25 December 1928. He said: “The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Sabarmati (i.e. the Gandhian) school of thought is to create a feeling and impression that modernism is bad, large-scale production is an evil, that wants should not be increased and the standard of living should not be raised, that we must endeavour to the best of our ability, to go back to the days of the bullock cart and that the soul is so important that physical culture and training can well be ignored.” After mounting a similar attack on the Pondichery, i.e. the Aurobindo Ghose School, Bose made a fervent plea for a policy of activism in the concluding part of the speech, “It is the passivism, not philosophic but actual, inculcated by these schools of thought against which I protest. In this holy land of ours, ashramas are not new institutions and ascetics and yogis are not novel phenomenon; they have held and will continue to hold an honourable place in society. But it is not their lead that we shall have to follow if we are to create a new India at once free, happy and great... In India today, we want a philosophy of activism. We must be inspired by robust optimism. We have to live in the present and to adapt ourselves to modern conditions.” As a result of these speeches, Gandhites dubbed him as a rebel. He rebelled against Gandhian ideas.

Throughout the year 1929, Bose was busy in presiding over a number of Conferences, especially of youth, such as the Punjab
Students' Conference in Lahore, the Central Provinces Youth Conference in Nagpur, the Berar Students' Conference in Amraoti and the Political Conference at Rangpur. The accent was on patriotism, integrity, sacrifice, courage and a firm adherence to the cause of national independence. He asked youth: “to summon courage to stand out alone and friendless, in the presence of the Cross as it were and fight the rest of the world. One who desires to swim with the tide of popular approbation on all occasions may became the hero of the hour, but he cannot live in history... For the most unselfish actions, we should be prepared to get abuse and vilification; from our closest friends we should be prepared for unwarranted hostility.”

The political developments of 1929- the continued unrest among the workers, Meerut Conspiracy case, martyrdom of Bhagat Singh, Jatin Das’s heroic end after seventy days’ hunger strike- all electrified Bose's mind. Not only that he joined the procession organised in honour of Jatin Das but all the repressive measures of the government made him politically much more active. Subhas was now no longer just an ardent young man impervious to everything but his closed mission. He was in a position of eminence, with power to move his people. He was now a leader of all India stature. His standing with the youth and students in general, his role in the national struggle of the time and the air of intense sincerity about his undoubted talent as a political worker gave him a position parallel to that of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi represented the older group while
Bose along with Jawaharlal Nehru represented the younger generations of leaders.

Bose never accepted anybody else except C.R. Das as his guru. He was respectful to Gandhi but remained allergic to many of his ideas and method of working. It is because of this, that Bose remained somewhat an outsider within the Congress especially amongst the eyes of the Gandhiiites. In a way, both Gandhi and Bose continue to work from about 1928 as uneasy partners as both were strong willed and dominating personalities and persistently differed radically from each other. Congress continued to be the mouth-piece of Gandhi. No struggle without Gandhi was launched by the Congress. Gandhi could impose his own method on the Congress. Though Gandhian thought had a deep impression on the working of the Congress yet as Sadiq Ali, a General Secretary of the Congress pointed out: “the Congress was too vast and heterogeneous an organization to digest all that Gandhi had to give it.”

Bose did not see any inherent difference between evolution and revolution. Evolution, he considered to be revolution spread over a longer period, while revolution was evolution compressed within a shorter period. As the future architects of free India, Bose called upon students to train themselves in such a manner as to become pioneers of social reconstruction. Bose visualised Free India “as a perfect synthesis of all that is good in the East and the West.” Surjit Man Singh is of the view that: “The East-West synthesis Bose visualized was
of the heroic, activist, disciplined and was prone element in the two civilizations. This was in contrast to the Gandhian synthesis of the non-violent, contemplative, individual based elements found in Eastern and Western religious.\textsuperscript{51} Surjit Man Singh further claims that Subhas believed in building from above. He placed his faith in modern economic development and discipline, otherwise worded, it was focussed on big things, not little people.\textsuperscript{52}

Though Gandhian thought was the main source of the Congress ideology, still there were other thought currents also which profoundly influenced its working and development. These thought currents were represented by C.R.Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru before 1927 and by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose after 1927. But parallel is only between Subhas Chandra Bose and Gandhi because Bose outrightly rejects Gandhian leadership whereas Jawaharlal Nehru under Gandhian mass appeal could not remain aloof and sided with Gandhi though at times much against his inner wishes. Both Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru formed a leftist group within the Congress. In a speech at the All India Youth Conference in Calcutta, Bose denounced the Gandhian philosophy: “Mystics would always hold an honoured place in India but it is not their lead we shall have to follow if we are to create a new India, at once free, happy and great.... We have to live in the present.”\textsuperscript{53}

Gandhi carefully weighed the situation and realized that the youth were getting disillusioned with non-violence and Swadeshi...
symbols and they aspired for more productive protest movement, and this meant that the hold of the Congress was getting eroded. Gandhi’s resolution at the 1929 Lahore session of the Congress clearly identified Complete Independence as the goal, and its passage restored Gandhi’s stature which was seemingly under pressure during the preceding five years or so. The Lahore Congress saw the culmination of Subhas Chandra Bose’s dream of the declaration of the national goal as complete independence. But what Bose demanded at Lahore was a complete programme of action based on the organization of the peasantry, working classes and the youth in one solid phalanx to enforce the national demand. According to him there could be no half-way measures in the national struggle. It had to be a total boycott of British rule and administration leading to a parallel government. Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested as soon as he returned to Calcutta from the Lahore Congress and sentenced to an year imprisonment. Ghose says, Gandhi did not relax with the resolution, only and with a view to mobilizing mass support launched civil disobedience with his march to Dandi (2 March 1930) to break the perverse salt law.\textsuperscript{54}

In an interview to \textit{The Daily Express} from Allahabad dated 22 January 1930, Gandhi had declared:“I hope to evolve a plan of civil resistance which will not cause destruction or involve bloodshed, but which be large enough to make the impression I desire.”\textsuperscript{55} He included all, rich and poor in his civil disobedience campaign. He wanted to convince the motivated youth that violence was counterproductive, and, instead, they should take up the challenge involved in defying
and violating a law, which, more than a bad law, was a humiliating imposition on the masses. Geoffrey Ashe is of the opinion that: "Gandhi believed that Satyagraha was destined to develop into a seasoned system of unarmed action, offered not merely as an expedient to use where force was impossible, but as a weapon superior to force."\textsuperscript{56} He had a firm belief that it was a concrete, comprehensive programme and should be accepted to remedy transmutation of undisciplined life-destroying latent energy into disciplined life-saving energy which alone ensured unqualified fulfilment of the objective, that is, the freedom of India.

When Gandhi launched his Dandi March in 1930, Netaji was in jail and he avidly viewed the development of the national resistance movement from behind prison walls. Judith M.Brown opines: "Like his \textit{khadi} tours it was to be a walking lesson in the qualities necessary for true swaraj, and a demonstration of his claim and credentials for leadership."\textsuperscript{57} The government’s atrocities led to a spate of revolutionary terrorism in the country, particularly in Bengal. The Chittagong Armoury Raid took place in April 1930 and the nationalist and government forces were at daggers drawn for months. The British Government released the report of the Simon Commission in June 1930. It was rejected outrightly by all parties. The mood of the people was now upbeat. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected Mayor of Calcutta while in prison. He could assume office only on his release later in the year.
While leading a procession as Mayor of Calcutta on 26 January 1931, Subhas and his Comrades were brutally attacked by British mounted police and taken into custody. On the other hand, Gandhi and the members of the working committee were released on 26 January 1931. In the beginning, the government adopted repressive policy and interned the Congress workers. However, seeing the success of the civil disobedience movement and the involvement of the masses, the government was constrained to enter into a pact. Subhas was in Alipore Central jail in Calcutta at that time. Under the settlement Congress was to discontinue civil disobedience while the government announced that it would withdraw the Ordinances and notifications declaring organizations unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, would release civil disobedience prisoners, remove punitive police, restore forfeited property provided this had not been sold to third parties and would treat liberally applications for reinstatement by village officials who had resigned provided their posts had not been permanently filled. Subhas was released on 8 March 1931 and he was critical of Gandhi’s stand regarding Gandhi-Irwin Pact (5 March 1931).

Gandhi, too, admitted that Congress had not secured victor’s arms. In a press statement issued on 5 March 1931 he clarifies his position thus: “If Congressmen honourably and fully implement the conditions applicable to them of the settlement, the Congress will obtain an irresistible prestige and would have inspired government
with confidence in its ability to ensure peace, as I think it has proved its ability to conduct disobedience. Moreover in practical terms it would have been fully to prolong the sufferings of satyagrahis when the opponent made it easy to enter into discussion about their aims."

In another interview to Congress workers at Karachi on 27 March 1931 Gandhi talked about Subhas's stand: "Among the earliest interviewers today were Mr. Subhas Bose and Mr. Satyamurti, both of whom pressed for insisting on the release of all prisoners sentenced in connection with the civil disobedience movement, the former going further and urging release of all Bengal detenus." The All India Congress Committee was to meet on 26 March 1931 and the plenary session of the Congress was held on 29 March. Before going to Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress, Bose decided to meet Gandhi at Bombay and seek clarifications on certain points. Bose wanted that Gandhi should use his influence to compel the Britishers not to carry out the death sentence on Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev for their involvement in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. Gandhi did not agree to it. While Subhas and Gandhi were on their way to Karachi from Calcutta, the news was received that Sardar Bhagat Singh and his Comrades had been hanged on 23 March. The government had sufficient cognisance of the situation in the country to realise that the execution on the eve of the Congress was likely to create a split in the Congress and would considerably strengthen the position of the anti-pact party. Bose writes that: "After duly weighing the considerations, we decided that a statement should be made to the
effect that the Left Wing of the Congress did not approve of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, but that in view of the circumstances prevailing at the time, they would refrain from dividing the house."\textsuperscript{62} This statement was made by Subhas Bose before the Subjects Committee of the Congress and was received with great jubilation by the supporters of the Pact, while it caused disappointment to Subhas's more enthusiastic supporters. He, in his presidential address at the Karachi Conference of the All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha dated 27 March 1931, reacted to the leaders: "The fundamental weakness in the Congress policy and programme is that there is a great deal of vagueness and mental reservation in the minds of the leaders. Their programme is based not on radicalism but on adjustment."\textsuperscript{61}

Meanwhile, the government decided to call the second Round Table Conference to sort out political issues. Bose took a principled stand on the issue of Round Table Conference. He along with other Congress leaders like Saiffudin Kitchlew and Abdul Bari, opposed the terms offered and claimed that if the Conference was at all to take place, only the 'belligerent parties' should be there. The Karachi Congress undoubtedly represented the pinnacle of the Gandhi's popularity and prestige and passed the Fundamental Rights Resolution. On 2 April 1931, the Working Committee selected Gandhi as the sole representative of the Congress at the Round Table Conference. Subhas considered this to be a tactical error because he felt that Gandhi would be at a physical disadvantage being a frail individual in a group of 107.\textsuperscript{62} Bose felt that if Gandhi had accepted
shifted from one place to another.

On 3 January 1932, without any trial, he was detained in prison and thereafter was sent back to Calcutta from Bombay, where he was arrested in response to the non-violent campaign initiated by Gandhi at Bombay for consultation and discussion. When the Committee was invited by the Indian National Congress Working Committee to appoint a member of the Congress Working Committee, Bose was not a member of the Congress Working Committee.

From London, world-peace-minded Gandhi returned empirically on 28 December 1931 and took up the mantle of a political leader who had come to preach a new faith—non-violence and the role of a political leader and that of a world teacher. Sometimes he conducted himself not as a political leader who had come to negotiate with the enemy, but as a teacher who had come to preach a new faith. In the face of the British, who were trying to negotiate with him, he had to play two roles in one person; the role of a political leader and that of a world teacher. Sometimes he conducted himself not as a political leader who had come to negotiate with the enemy, but as a teacher who had come to preach a new faith. In the face of the British, who were trying to negotiate with him, he had to play two roles in one person; the role of a political leader and that of a world teacher.

During Gandhi's stay in England he had to play two roles in one person; the role of a political leader and that of a world teacher. Sometimes he conducted himself not as a political leader who had come to negotiate with the enemy, but as a teacher who had come to preach a new faith. In the face of the British, who were trying to negotiate with him, he had to play two roles in one person; the role of a political leader and that of a world teacher.

As anticipated by Bose, the Conference turned out to be a stroke. Gandhi went to London to participate in the Round Table Conference and the Congress delegation, then Gandhi’s position would have been strengthened. Gandhi’s position would have been strengthened.
Despite protests from Gandhi, Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of England, on 10 August 1932 announced the Communal Award. S.K. Gupta is of the opinion that: "The Communal Award or the Communal Decision, as it was officially called, was the result of an inconclusive and unsuccessful but protracted political battle that had all along been fought, to some extent at the behest of the British bureaucracy, by the various separatist elements of the Indian Communities at the Round Table Conference and earlier, over the question of their guaranteed, weighted and separate representation in the legislatures." The Communal Award provided for a certain number of seats for the depressed classes in the Provincial Legislatures which would be filled up on the basis of a separate electorate. In addition to this, members of the depressed classes would be entitled to stand for election from the general constituencies earmarked for Hindus and would be registered in a common electoral role along with other Hindus. "The Communal Award, was denounced by the nationalists, the liberals and the leaders of the Indian National Congress, in general as well as in particular from the point of view of the extension of the communal electorates to the depressed classes," opines S.K. Gupta.

In the Communal Decision announced in August 1932, the government rejected the pleas of Gandhi and others for giving representation to the depressed classes through joint electorates. Consequently, Gandhi, in his letter dated 18 August 1932 addressed to
the Premier, made his final declaration of starting from 20 September 1932 a perpetual fast unto death. "The fast will cease if during its progress, the British Government, of its own motion or under pressure of public opinion, revise their decision and withdraw their scheme of communal electorates for the depressed class whose representatives should be elected by general electorate under common franchise, no matter how wide it is." The Premier replied on 8 September 1932 regretting the decision of the Mahatma but affirming that the provisions of the award could not be altered. He, on the contrary, blamed Gandhi for taking a stand that instead of furthering the true cause of the depressed classes, would in fact, hinder it. He stated: "As I understand your attitude, you propose to adopt the extreme cause of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, because that is already provided, not to maintain the unity of Hindus, because that is already provided, but solely to prevent the Depressed classes who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities today, from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future."

The whole country was in a state of anxiety and alarm when the news about the impending fast of Gandhi was published on 13 September. Frantic appeals were made to the Mahatma to desist but the appeals proved ineffective. Government offered to release him under certain conditions but he declined conditional release. In his
statement sent to the Bombay Government on 15 September 1932 (released by the Government to the press on 21 September, 1932) and in the interview he gave to the press representatives in jail on 20 September 1932, Mahatma Gandhi made it abundantly clear that his fast was not directed 'against the English official world' but was against those who had faith in him whether Indians or foreigners. He was against any patched-up agreement and declared that if Hindus were not yet prepared to banish untouchability root and branch they must sacrifice him without the slightest hesitation.69

On an appeal from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a Conference of Hindu leaders met at Bombay on 19 September 1932 in order to deliberate how the Mahatma's life could be saved. After a preliminary discussion there, the leaders adjoined to Poona in order to be in constant touch with the Mahatma. Both the wings of the Depressed classes one during allegiance to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and the other to Rao Bahadur M.C. Rajah - were willing parties to it. The Hindu Conference in Bombay ratified the pact on 25 September 1932. Mahatma Gandhi, however, would not break the fast until the Pact was accepted in-toto by the British Government. Thus, on the one side, the Pact was immediately cabled to the British Government and on the other side, urgent appeals were made to the Premier by Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, R. Srinivasan, Rao Bahadur M.C. Rajah, Pandit Malaviya and others for the immediate alteration of the Communal Award. On 26 September 1932, simultaneously in London and in Delhi the British Government announced the substitution of
the Communal Award by the provisions of the Poona Pact. As a result of it, Mahatma Gandhi broke his fast at 5:15 P.M. on 26 September, 1932. The whole country breathed a sigh of relief. It clearly marked Gandhi’s concern for societal harmony and integral unity. He emerged as the embodiment of conciliation and India’s unity, in the face of colonial duplicity.

Subhas Chandra Bose who was in jail in a small place called Seoni in Central Bombay was critical of Gandhi’s fast. He criticized Gadhi for as his fast misrepresented Indian cause in Europe and the European public had this feeling that: “India is a land full of internal dissensions where not only Hindus and Muslims, but Hindus themselves, are perpetually fighting with one-another and only the strong hand of Britain is able to maintain peace and order.” The turn of events completely bewildered Bose who felt that the prime issue of Indian independence was side tracked and drowned by the emotional execution over Gandhi’s fast. civil disobedience and mass satyagraha took a sudden back seat as issues like anti-untouchability campaigns and debates on temple entrybills came to the forefront. Bose writes: “This side-tracking of the civil-disobedience movement was the result of that subjectivism which seizes him at times and makes him utterly blind to and oblivious of objective realities.” As regards Subhas’s reaction to these political developments, it may be pointed out that from January 1932 to 22 February 1933 he was in detention without trial.
Since the health of Bose was worsening, he was shifted to Jabalpur Central Jail. From there, Subhas was shifted from place to place ostensibly for medical diagnosis and treatment - first to Madras, then to Bhowali and finally to Lucknow. However, his health failed rapidly. Left with no option, the British Government agreed to allow Bose to proceed to Europe for treatment and cure, but would not release him in India. In February he went to Europe for treatment and reached Vienna in March 1933. This enforced exile was destined to open a new chapter in his life.

In Vienna, after a few weeks of treatment and rest, Bose began to recover rapidly. As soon as he was somewhat well, he began to take interest in his new surroundings and sought to establish new contacts with people in Europe to promote the cause of national struggle in India. In Vienna, another leading Indian politician was also convalescing, Vithalbhai Patel. Patel not only shared his interest in promoting international goodwill for Indian nationalist aspirations but also his anti-Gandhi political opinion.

On 1st April 1933, the twenty-seventh session of Indian National Contress was held at Calcutta in defiance of Government orders and 600 delegates were arrested. On 8 May 1933, Gandhi commenced 21 days fast and issued a statement explaining fast. He was released the same day and in an interview to Associated Press of India he advised: suspension of Civil disobedience movement for one month or six weeks; appealed to government to withdraw ordinances and
release all civil resisters." Bose reacted strongly to what he thought to be an ignoble surrender to the British. "While responsible Congressmen in India were unwilling to speak out against the Mahatma after his surrender of May 1933, a manifesto was issued by Vithalbhai Patel and Subhas from Vienna, condemning the Mahatma's decision." They stated: "We are clearly of opinion that as a political leader Mahatma Gandhi has failed. The time has, therefore, come for a radical reorganisation of the Congress on a new principle and with a new method. For bringing about this reorganisation a change of leadership is necessary .... If the Congress as a whole can undergo this transformation, it would be the best course. Failing that a new party will have to be formed within the Congress, composed of all radical elements. Non-Co-Operation cannot be given up but the form of non-cooperation will have to be changed into a more militant one and the fight for freedom to be waged on all fronts." This reflects how bitter was the reaction of those who were opposed to Gandhian working. Durlab Singh stated: "by suspending the civil disobedience movement, Gandhi had given the last proof of his inefficiency as a leader of the masses."

On 17 September 1934, Gandhi in a press statement explained his decision to resign from Congress. Gandhi felt that he was a hindrance to the working of the new generation. He as a matter of fact did not want to deny them the freedom to express themselves. It was Gandhi's fearless public posture in keeping with the ethical priorities of goodwill and parity of dignity. Bose reiterated: "The
Mahatma will not play second fiddle to anyone. As long as it will be possible for him to guide the political movement, he will be there but if the composition or the mentality of the Congress changes, he may possibly retire from active politics .... A temporary retirement is like a strategic retreat .... We have had experience of the Mahatma's retirement from active politics once before from 1924 to 1928."

Subhas had differences not only with M.K. Gandhi but also with Leftists and the Communists. No doubt, Subhas Chandra Bose was a Leftist but of his own kind. In one of his statement he says: "when the main stream of a Movement begins to stagnate, but there is still vitality in the movement as a whole - a Left wing invariably appears. The main function of the Left wing is to stimulate progress when there is danger of it being arrested. The appearance of Left wing is followed by a conflict between it and the main stream, which is now the Right wing." What did he actually mean by Leftism is rather difficult to precisely define. In fact, he always thought of socialism much too eclectically, and was never at home in the postulates of Marxism and its analysis of the process of history.

By 'Leftism' he probably meant activization of different sections of the society like the workers, peasants, students, depressed classes etc. In the socialist programme he wanted the Congress to follow, too, emphasized the formation and activization of peasant organizations and trade unions, national economic planning. These later also found expression in his Presidential address at Haripura in
1938. From the late 1920's he tried to unite the forces of the left within the Congress which consisted of the organised sections of students, youth, peasants, workers, revolutionaries and socialists. He urged that the Congress should directly take up the task of organising labour and that youth and students should start organisations of their own and further said: “the women, the so-called depressed classes, the labourers and cultivators - these are the three very large parts of our people that are practically lifeless and idle. Send to them your inspiring call and make them conscious of their fundamental human rights.”

The fundamental rights resolution passed at the Karachi Congress is ‘a definite move towards socialism’.

In 1933 Subhas Bose was asked to visit England by the Indian residents there, who wanted him to preside over the All Parties London Conference of Indians. But the British Government denied his entry to England. The India office refused to grant him passport. He, however, sent his written address which was read by Dr. Bhatt in absentia. It was a remarkable address in which he appealed to the Indian residents there to view the situation in India in light of the changes taking place all over the world and to do propaganda in favour of India. At this Conference he, for the first time, placed the proposal of “Samyavadi Sangh”. In the plan of the New Party outlined by Subhas Bose which is essentially anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist and bears the stamp of ideas preached in Germany and Italy at that time. He lays down ten points of his programme:
1. The party will stand for the interest of the peasants, workers etc., and not for the vested interests, that is, the landlords, capitalists and money-lending classes.

2. It will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people.

3. It will stand for a Federal Government for India as the ultimate goal but will believe in a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet.

4. It will believe in a sound system of state planning for the reorganisation of the agricultural and industrial life of the country.

5. It will seek to build up a new social structure on the basis of the village communities of the past, that were ruled by the village 'Panch' and will strive to break down existing social barriers like castes.

6. It will seek to establish a new monetary and credit system in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world.

7. It will seek to abolish landlordism and introduce a uniform land tenure system for the whole of India.
8. It will not stand for democracy in the mild-victorian sense of the term, but will believe in Government by a strong party bound together by military discipline, as the only means of holding India together and preventing a chaos, when Indians are free and are thrown entirely on their own resources.

9. It will not restrict itself to a campaign inside India but will resort to international propaganda also, in order to strengthen India's case for liberty and will attempt to utilise the existing International Organisations.

10. It will endeavour to unite all the radical organisations under a National executive so that whenever any action is taken there will be simultaneous activities on many fronts.83

Bose was not permitted to enter England, but there were countries in South Eastern and Western Europe, to which Subhas was permitted to go. In Vienna, Bose discovered to his great satisfaction that the neighbouring countries of Austria, viz., Czechoslovakia and Pland reacted very positively to his efforts and showed a great deal of sincere understanding of the struggle for national independence being carried on by the Indian people.
During October 1933, the condition of Vithalbhai Patel deteriorated. Subhas and Patel both went to Nyon but Patel soon succumbed to his illness. His body was sent to India and Subhas accompanied it up to Marselles. Gandhi paid tribute to Vithalbhai Patel on 24 October 1933 in the following words: “His death is a distinct loss to the country at this juncture. I cannot close this tribute without placing on record my deep appreciation of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose’s magnificent and devoted nursing of Vithalbhai at much risk to his own health.”

Vithalbhai had devoted himself to doing propaganda in foreign countries in favour of India and along with Subhas had prepared scheme about it but he died soon and Subhas Bose was left alone to carry on the work on behalf of India in Europe. Patel had died and had made Bose the trustee not only of some of his ideas but of a considerable fund for the propagation abroad of knowledge about India.

In July 1933, Subhas Bose arrived in Berlin. Subhas Bose was anxious to speak to Hitler to change his entirely wrong judgement of the Indian movement and the fight for freedom which the Indian people were carrying on to liberate themselves from the British yoke. Even the ambivalence of Hitler’s attitude towards Britain did not deter him from trying to persuade the German Government to adopt an anti-British attitude and help the Indian freedom movement. He was the one of the very few persons who had dared to make his stand boldly clear even in front of Hitler. Another task that Bose took upon
himself very seriously during the course of his sojourn in Europe was to study the history and nature of the popular revolutionary movements against exploitation of the masses by the ruling classes in countries of Western Europe. He studied ways of organising the Indian masses by modern techniques and preparing them for the grim fight for the liberation of their country. He came to this realisation that for the realisation of a national revolution in India, the fight had to be on many fronts, because the struggle was not only against the British but also against their Indian allies. It was his view that it was not for the British to give India a Constitution but it would flow out of a revolutionary struggle against Imperialism. Because of his revolutionary views on the aims and techniques of the struggle, he often came into open conflict with Gandhian leadership.

What is equally surprising is his admiration for Fascism which had emerged in Italy and Germany. He, however, gave his own reasons in one of his statements in Hindu dated 10 January 1935: “I know that I am known as Hitler’s supporter, of course, there is much to learn from Hitler’s organisation. But I do not know how far it will be suitable to India.” Or, Bose might have had an earlier bend towards authoritarianism and political military fusing derived from his ‘bhadrolak’ background in Bengal and contacts with the terrorist movement whatever was the origins of his preferences, he came to the conclusion, “In spite of the antithesis between Communism and Fascism, there are certain traits common to both.” Further, elaborating these traits as applicable to his ‘Samyavada’ concept: “Both
communism and Fascism believe in the supremacy of the State over
the individual. Both denounce Parliamentarian democracy. Both
believe in Party rule. Both believe in dictatorship of the Party and in
the ruthless suppression of all dissenting minorities. Both believe in a
planned industrial reorganisation of the country. These will form the
basis of the new synthesis.\footnote{89}

At the end of 1934 Subhas visited India because of the illness of
his father but reached too late to see him alive. He wanted to stay for
a one month but he was not given permission. On 10 January 1935, he
sailed from India for Europe. While in Europe Bose had became
thoroughly disillusioned with the Gandhian Philosophy and strategy
for winning the independence of India. He had set his mind on
evolving more radical methods after studying the methods of mass
organization and armed revolt in the various European Countries
which had won their independence by applying this method. A
French savant Romain Rolland when Bose visited in 1935, records:
"Bose does not regard terrorism as healthy policy and he is in favour
of organised resistance, not excluding violence (and definitely in
favour of it if the struggle makes it necessary).... Neither, naively does
he bide the hopes he has in a European war, which, by keeping
England occupied, will assure India's chances of Victory."\footnote{90}

As regards Bose's socio-economic views, Rolland wrote in his
diary: "He also seems to have reached the frontier of Communism,
but he does not want to hear it talked about. Probably his antipathy is
founded upon personal reasons, concerning the present representatives of the Party in India. For he declares that he would certainly not see any harm in the U.S.S.R. helping India gain her independence; and his complaint against the U.S.S.R. is above all, her apparent present lack of interest in world-wide revolution in favour of her national policy. He realised that no country could live in isolation and that the world having shrunk due to the modern means of speedy communication, every national context must be viewed in the International context. In fact, he had devoted a good part of his exile in Europe to conducting propaganda for Indian freedom and in educating peoples and nations on the real state of affairs in India.

It was C.R. Das who first made Bose aware of the necessity of making India known in other countries. The new scheme of work for the Swaraj Party which was drafted by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru gave importance to Indian propaganda in foreign countries and the organization of a Pan-Asiatic League. Discussions on the issue of foreign propaganda had started as early as April 1922, when Bose and other members of the Party were in prison.

Bose wanted world opinion to be mobilised in favour of Indian independence and that India should not hesitate to get help from foreign powers hostile to Great Britain. Unlike Gandhi, he was of the opinion that the British would not grant freedom, because the Indian demand was just. So he outlined the objectives of the Indian propaganda abroad: to counteract false propaganda about India; to
enlighten the world about the true conditions prevailing in India; to acquaint the world with the positive achievements of the Indian people in every sphere of activity. To accomplish this three-fold purpose, Bose suggested a large number of concrete steps to be taken.

Bose had all along insisted that the Congress should have a foreign department for a systematic propaganda abroad to see that India was adequately represented at all International Conferences and Congresses. He insisted that the representatives of India in all International Conferences should be the representatives of the Indian people and not the hand-picked nominees of the British Government who dance to their tune in these Congresses and Conferences.

Bose toured extensively. He visited Berlin, Rome, Prague, Warsaw, Istanbul, Belgrade, Bucharest, Italy, Turkey etc. to seek allies for the national cause. He wrote his major work: *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34* during this period. He had begun work on it in Vienna in 1933, and continued to do so at Karlovyvary in Czechoslovakia and completed it in 1934 in Badgastein in Austria. In the book he endeavoured to present a true picture of the Indian freedom movement on the one hand; the methods adopted by the British on the other, summed up the task before the country thus: “The future of India ultimately lies with a Party with clear ideology, programme and plan of action - a Party that will not only fight for and win freedom, but will put into effect the entire programme of post-war reconstruction - a party that will break the isolation that has been
India’s cause and bring her into comity of nations - firm in the belief that the fate of India is indissolubly linked up with the fate of humanity.”

Meanwhile, Gandhi had returned from active politics to village welfare etc. Some of the Congress workers followed him, some remained in jail, some thought once more to work for freedom by constitutional means. This led to a reconciliation with the Government. As the Government of India Act (1935) became law, the Congress was inclined to take part in the elections for which it provided, and to proceed constitutionally. The more radical nationalists, formed the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. Bose writes: “The emergence of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 was a sure indication of the resurgence of the radical or left wing forces in the country. This was accompanied by a phenomenal awakening among the peasantry and the students and to some extent, among the workers.” It was a clear sign that left-wing opinion had not weakened in the Congress. Bose published his own account of Indian nationalism in The Indian Struggle. During the year 1935, Subhas’s health was abundantly restored and by the year end the urge to re-enter the struggle in India was irresistible. He made up his mind at the beginning of 1936. The Congress Assembly was soon to discuss whether to take part in the new elections. Jawahar Lal Nehru who was to be President urged him to come. In March 1936, Bose announced that he was returning to India and received formal warning that he would be arrested when he did so. This he openly refuted. He
reached Bombay on 8 April 1936, and was arrested on landing. He was sent to Yeravda jail, near Poona, dashing his hopes of attending the Congress session at Lucknow. Jawaharlal Nehru who presided over the Congress sent back a message of sympathy and made him a member of the Working Committee.

A country-wide hartal was observed all over India on 20 May 1936 to protest against Bose's incarceration. Ten months later, on 17 March 1937 Bose was released unconditionally for reasons of health. Dilip Kumar Roy refers to him in his book: Netaji-The Man: "as more spiritual than ever in spite of the rings of shadow round his eyes. His eyes irradiated with a lustre that had not been there eight years ago in the hey day of his activism. Years of struggle and disappointment on top of frequent incarceration had mellowed the exterior austerity of the youthful ascetic."纽带

In 1937, Congress emerged victorious from the first elections under the Act of 1935 and decided to form Congress Ministries in seven provinces. Bose took little part in this decision, and returned to Darjeeling to stay until October with his old friends Dr. & Mrs. Dharamvir. In December 1937, Bose went to Europe to convalesce for a few weeks at Badgastein, his favourite resort in Austria. It was here that he wrote, in about ten days, his unfinished autobiography - An Indian Pilgrim. Leonard, while commenting on the purpose of writing this book;“ From his criticism of both Gandhi and Nehru, it is clear that Bose believed that he had his own unique angle of vision and this
could be presented to a narrative of his life. *The Indian Struggle* had presented an objective overview of the nationalist movement. The second book, *An Indian Pilgrim*, helped to explain Bose’s views and show how he came to them. It was handsomely written and gave insight into his background.”[95] From there he went to England in January 1938. Though he already had conferred with Gandhi in Calcutta, agreeing to accept nomination as Congress President in 1938 yet it was here that he learnt of his unanimous election as the Congress President.

He returned to Calcutta on 22-23 January 1938. Most of the observers were surprised that how could Gandhi sponsor the name of Bose for the Presidentship, a born rebel, who never left any stone unturned to criticize him. Firstly, Gandhi knew that in Bose there had arisen the only national figure who could challenge his undisputed leadership. Secondly, Gandhi, on his part, probably hoped that apart from his action being viewed as a grand gesture of accommodation and compromise, it would take the wind out of the sails of the Leftists at Haripura just as a similar strategy in the case of Nehru had done at Lahore eight years earlier. Thirdly, in order to coax him to his side Gandhi declared: “There is nobody but Subhas who can be the President.”[96] However, as a mass leader, Gandhi was expected to have more intimate and comprehensive perception of human, social and systematic frailties. No doubt, he was aware of the dissent in the Congress and in order to curb it, also, he nominated Subhas as the President of the Indian National Congress. But the strategy Gandhi
had applied towards Nehru to bring him to his fold, that proved futile in Subhas’s case.

The Presidential address at Haripura in Gujarat 1938 was a comprehensive and remarkable document. He warned his countrymen about the skillful, systematic and ruthless British Policy of “divide and rule”. He advocated the setting up of a National Planning Committee with Nehru as its chairman. And he ruled out the possibility of more than one Party. “The Congress today is the one supreme organ of mass struggle. It may have its right block and its left but it is a common platform for all anti-imperialist organizations striving for Indian emancipation. Let us, therefore, rally the whole country under the banner of the Indian National Congress.” He emphasized the need of international propaganda to further the cause of the Indian freedom. He concluded his address with a fervent appeal that Mahatma Gandhi may be spared to our nation for many years to come: “We need him to keep us united, we need him to keep our struggle free from bitterness and hatred. We need him for the cause of Indian independence. What is more we need him for the cause of humanity.”

Regarding the relations with British he declared: “The ultimate stage in our progress will be severence of the British connection. When that severence takes place and there is no trace left of British domination, we shall be in a position to determine our future relations with Great Britain through a treaty of a alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties. What our future relations with Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to say. That will
depend to a large extent on the attitude of the British people themselves. On this point, I have been greatly impressed by the attitude of President De Valera. Like the President of Eire, I should also say that we have no enmity towards the British people. We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her."(99)

Later in the year 1938, he launched the National Planning Committee for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrialisation and of national development. In a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru dated 19 October 1938, Subhas offered the chairmanship of the Planning Committee. Both these moves were unacceptable in Gandhian circle. Further, after the Munich Pact, in September 1938, Subhas began an open propaganda throughout India to prepare the Indian people for a national struggle. This caused further annoyance to Gandhites. From the nature of things done by him and the policies adopted by him, it is quite clear that inspite of younger age, he was for ahead of many Congress leaders.

To sum up, it may be said that both Subhas and Gandhi differed radically from each other, yet neither of them came out openly to confront each other. To be precise, until 1928 Subhas was only an important worker of the Congress and was no threat to Gandhi's hegemony, his ideas and methods. Even during the next decade when Subhas began to emerge as an important leader on the All India scene, he in combination with Nehru and some other leaders having left
leavings from within the Congress could at best forcefully put forth his political alternatives and thus embarrass him and challenge his authority. Gandhi could not overlook the strong-willed and uncompromising Subhas and tried to accommodate him towards the late 1930's. This, however, does not mean that Gandhi succumbed to the views of Subhas or Subhas compromised with Gandhi's thinking. It was more accommodation to obviate any open conflict and confrontation and give due recognition to Subhas as one of the important leaders of the Congress. The strategy, however, succeeded only for a short while and the rift got widened between Gandhi's and Subhas's as will be discussed in the next chapter. It is equally important to note that Subhas not only differed radically, with Gandhi but also with the 'leftists', socialists and the communists. He could only appreciate some parts of the philosophy of socialism. He thought of socialism much too eclectically and was never at home in the postulates of arxism and its analysis of the processes of history. In a way, his interest in the Leftist philosophy was restricted to the activization of workers, peasants, students, the depressed classes and the other lower sections including women. Through his doctrine of activism he emphasized the practice of vigorous action or involvement on the part of those engaged in freedom struggle as a means of achieving political goals. His appreciation of certain elements of Fascism further appears to have distanced him from the Left both from within the Congress and outside.
References


5. *Selected speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, (New Delhi, Publication Division, Reprint 1992), p. 11


8. Leonard A. Gordon, *Brothers Against The Raj*, p.80

*Chittaranjan Das was a high - caste Bengali, a Vaidya, from Vikrampur, near Decca in East Bengal. Born in 1870, Das, like the Bose Brothers, attended Presidency College, Calcutta, and then went to Britain for further education. He failed the ICS examination, but was called to the bar from the Inner Temple, and returned to practise at the Calcutta High Court bar.*


22. Ibid., p. 35.


25. Ibid., p. 58.


38. V.P. Saini, *op.cit.*, p. 16


40. See Sir Cecil Kaye (ed.), *Communism in India*, p. 30.


47. *Ibid.*, p. 44


55. CWMG, Vol. 42, p. 419.


59. CWMG vol. 45, p. 353.


61. *Selected Speeches Of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p.58

62. The second Round Table Conference consisted of 107 members. Of these, 65 were from British India, 22 from the Indian States and 20 from the three British Parties.


64. As the members nominated by the British Government to the Second Round Conference in 1931 could not come to an agreement on the question of representation, electorate, etc. for the legislatures under the New Constitution, the British Prime Minister announced the government’s decision. This decision is known as the Communal Award.


69. Ibid., pp. 292-293.

70. Ibid., p. 299.


72. Ibid., pp. 249-250.

73. CWMG, Vol. 54, p. 505.

74. Ibid., Vol. 55, p. 464.


76. Durlab Singh, *The Rebel President Of The Indian National Congress*, (Lahore, Hero Publishers, 1941.), p. 41


82. He does not believe that the independence of India alone can bring about the era of real freedom, only when the peasant will have his right to bread and the labourer can enjoy his honest earnings. It is the system that he wants to change, not a mere form of administration. The substitution of a brown for a white bureaucracy is thoroughly repugnant to him. To that end, he has coined a new word which is the Indian version of a socialist state of peasant and worker, was to be the culminating point of his book, “The Indian Struggle”. In his conception of this new land, rich or the fascist capitalist had no room, and only those whose work had the right to eat.


85. In a letter to Dahyabhai Patel dated 6 April 1934 Gandhi wrote: “We should let go anything that passes into Subhas Bose's
hands. I believe he will use it for only public purposes”,


90. *A Beacon Across Asia*, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-68.


93. *The Indian Struggle*, *op.cit.*, p. 330

94. Daya Mukherjee, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

95. Leonard A. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 342


99. *Selected Speeches Of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 74